### Omid Saeed Sedeeq<sup>10</sup>

# Hybrid Warfare and Strategic Communication

### Theory and Case Study

#### **Abstract**

This paper examines the role of strategic communication in countering hybrid warfare, particularly in countering disinformation as a key element of hybrid threats. Hybrid warfare operates in the "grey zone" between war and peace, using a combination of military and non-military tactics, including cyberattacks, manipulation of social unrest, and propaganda. Given the increasing complexity of hybrid threats, strategic communication is a critical tool for shaping public perceptions, building resilience, and mitigating disinformation campaigns. This study examines the definition of hybrid warfare, its key elements from this perspective, and the challenges it poses. A case study highlights NATO's Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence (STRATCOM COE) and its role in countering disinformation. The paper concludes by emphasising the importance of a comprehensive and coordinated approach to strategic communication to ensure national security and global stability. Ultimately, this paper emphasises that mastering strategic communication is no longer optional but a prerequisite for states seeking to navigate treacherous waters.

Keywords: hybrid warfare, strategic communication, disinformation, grey zone conflict, information warfare

#### Introduction

In today's world, where everyone is connected to everyone else, the traditional idea of a battlefield has changed a lot. In the past, battles were fought by soldiers with

<sup>1</sup> PhD student, Ludovika University of Public Service, Doctoral School of Military Sciences, e-mail: omid.botani@gmail.com

boots and regular weapons. Hybrid warfare is a new type of war that is more complex and has more sides. It is a mix of military and non-military strategies, such as cyberattacks, disinformation campaigns, economic pressure, and the manipulation of social unrest. Hybrid warfare uses a mix of military and non-military tactics like cyberattacks, disinformation campaigns, economic pressure, and the manipulation of social unrest.<sup>2</sup> For example, Russia interfered in the 2016 U.S. Presidential election.<sup>3</sup>

This combination of tactics creates a "grey zone" where it's hard to know who is responsible for the attacks.<sup>4</sup> The use of hybrid warfare is a reflection of how the nature of power and conflict has changed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. States and non-state actors are using non-kinetic means to achieve their strategic objectives. This means that we need to rethink traditional security ideas and come up with new ways to defend ourselves. It is no longer enough to focus only on military strength. States must also invest in their ability to shape the information environment and build resilience against manipulation.

The grey zone is a new way of thinking about conflict. In the grey zone, it is not always clear if something is a war or a peace. It is a place where activities are below the level of traditional war but still try to hurt or upset the country being targeted. These strategies use ambiguity and deception, which have been used in military theories for thousands of years. They can significantly damage a nation without ever formally declaring war. Right now, many countries are using these tactics to achieve their goals, so it is very important to understand these threats and find ways to stop them.

These tactics can include election interference and economic coercion, which are used to weaken democratic institutions, divide society, and make people lose trust in international rules and norms. If hybrid warfare is not addressed, there could be severe consequences, such as political instability, economic disruption, social division and a loss of trust in democratic institutions. The most concerning aspect of the grey zone is its potential to normalise a state of perpetual conflict, where societies are constantly under attack from subtle and often undetectable forms of aggression.

In the context of hybrid warfare, disinformation is a major concern. This is because it can be used to manipulate public opinion and weaken social cohesion. Now, more than ever before in history, anyone with a smartphone and internet connection can share information. This has created a lot of opportunities for disinformation to spread quickly and widely, making it hard to tell what sources reliable and what sources are not.

Disinformation, which is false or misleading information that is spread on purpose, can have a very bad effect on society. It can make people not trust institutions, make public debate more divided, and create an environment of uncertainty and fear. For example, conspiracy theories about the pandemic spread quickly on social media. This shows that disinformation can hurt public health efforts and create division.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> NATO 2024a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> LEGUCKA 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Weissmann 2021: 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> LASCONJARIAS-LARSEN 2015: 4–5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Bertolini et al. 2023: IV.

<sup>5</sup> STEPNEY-LALLY 2024: 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> IRETON-POSETTI 2018: 7–8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> ABED et al. 2024: 44–45.

To persuade and influence, this paper says that strategic communication is a very important tool for dealing with the problems of hybrid warfare. To support this argument, the paper will first define hybrid warfare, explore its key elements, and discuss the challenges it poses. Then, it will explain strategic communication and provide examples of how it has been used in the past and how it is used today.

Finally, it will look at how strategic communication can be used to counter hybrid threats. It will present a recent example of its successful implementation – NATO's STRATCOM COE – and offer recommendations for a comprehensive and coordinated approach to ensure national security and global stability. By examining the ideas behind and the ways that strategic communication is used, this paper aims to demonstrate its crucial role in defending against the evolving landscape of modern conflict. My goal is not only to describe the problem but also to provide a practical and feasible plan to address it.

#### What is hybrid warfare?

Hybrid warfare represents a fundamental shift like conflict, moving beyond traditional military engagements to encompass a broader range of tactics and strategies. <sup>10</sup> Understanding this evolving concept requires a comprehensive definition that captures its multifaceted nature. In essence, hybrid warfare represents a convergence of conventional and unconventional methods, blurring the lines between war and peace and creating a complex and challenging security environment.

The term "hybrid warfare" has become more common in recent years. It describes conflicts that use both traditional and non-traditional methods. NATO says that hybrid warfare is an approach that "combines military and non-military as well as covert and overt means, including disinformation, cyber-attacks, economic pressure, deployment of irregular armed groups and use of regular forces".<sup>11</sup>

The above definition shows that different types of power are mixed to achieve strategic goals. Mihály Boda has a different idea about hybrid warfare. He says it is a "form of indirect wars in which states are in conflict with each other by applying non-military or non-traditionally military means and methods". This shows that many hybrid tactics are indirect, and they often avoid or hide the use of force. Sun Tzu, a military strategist from ancient China, understood this centuries ago when he said, "the ultimate achievement is to defeat the enemy without even coming to battle".

When we look at these definitions together, we can see that hybrid warfare tries to achieve its goals using a mix of direct and indirect methods, which makes it hard to tell what is peace and what is war. Another key feature of hybrid warfare is its ability to adapt. This allows opponents to adjust their tactics to exploit the target state's specific weaknesses. This adaptability is why hybrid warfare is so hard to counter. Adversaries are always changing their tactics to stay ahead of their opponents. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> NATO 2024a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> NATO 2024a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Boda 2024: 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Sun Tzu: 2012: 17.

traditional approach to war is still relevant. In many conflicts, lethal methods are still being used.

However, hybrid warfare uses less lethal methods to gain an advantage over the opponent. This can include things like economic sanctions (like imposing trade restrictions), political interference, and the spreading of false information through disinformation campaigns. The thin line between peace and war can be easily undermined in hybrid warfare, and a miscalculated use of hybrid methods can sometimes cause unintended escalation. The elasticity of hybrid warfare, its ability to expand and contract across different domains, can be detrimental to both sides if it extends too far and leads to direct military confrontation. The conflict in Ukraine is a clear example of this. There, hybrid tactics have been used to make the country unstable and create conditions for military intervention.<sup>14</sup>

#### The grey zone and "hot peace"

A key feature of hybrid warfare is its use of the "grey zone", which is a space between traditional war and peace. This idea is explained more in Boda's work on "hot peace". Hot peace is when two countries are always competing and fighting but not actually going to war. In this "hot peace", countries do things to try to hurt their rivals without causing a full-scale military response. These activities can include cyber espionage, economic coercion, and support for proxy groups. The grey zone makes it hard to know the right response because any action could be seen as making the conflict worse. The challenge is to develop response strategies that are both effective in deterring hostile actions and proportionate to the threat. This makes it difficult to say who is responsible for actions or to determine the appropriate response. Traditional warfare is different. In traditional warfare, there are declarations of war and clearly defined battlefields. The grey zone is characterised by covert operations, disinformation campaigns, and other activities. These activities are designed to avoid military conflict.

Uncertainty makes it hard for policymakers to decide how to respond. If they respond too strongly, the conflict might get worse. But if they don't respond at all, the attacker might feel more confident. Using secret assets, like private military companies and cybercriminals, makes it hard to figure out who is responsible for attacks. This means we need to invest more in our intelligence-gathering and analysis capabilities to improve attribution and deter future attacks.

#### The importance of disinformation

In the context of hybrid warfare, disinformation plays a particularly harmful role. Disinformation is defined as "deliberate (often orchestrated) attempts to confuse

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Lasconjarias–Larsen 2015: 8.

<sup>15</sup> Weissmann 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Boda 2024: 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> ADAY et al. 2019: 18.

or manipulate people through delivering dishonest information to them". In hybrid conflicts, disinformation is often used to make the public distrust institutions, divide public opinion, and create discord within societies. This confusion and uncertainty can weaken a nation from within, making it more vulnerable to other forms of attack. Since disinformation can spread quickly and widely on social media, it's a very powerful tool in hybrid warfare.

One example of a disinformation campaign used in hybrid warfare is the "Endless Mayfly" network. <sup>20</sup> This network had fake websites and fake people who spread false information, making it seem like they were from real news sites. <sup>21</sup> These websites often published articles on sensitive topics to make people emotional and to make people question if the information was real. These fake accounts then shared this content on social media platforms like Facebook. <sup>22</sup> The "Endless Mayfly" campaign was likely meant to make people distrust democratic institutions and promote narratives that favour certain state actors. <sup>23</sup>

Another example is the deepfake video of the Ukrainian President, which was posted in March 2022. In this video, a digitally altered version of President Zelenskyy appeared to instruct Ukrainian soldiers to lay down their arms. <sup>24</sup> Hackers even showed this video on live TV in Ukraine. The goal of this deepfake was likely to make Ukrainian forces feel unmotivated and create confusion among the Ukrainian people. This video's appearance on live TV in Ukraine shows how even simple disinformation tactics can have a big impact.

The targeted audience is mostly civilians, and it is important to notice that civilians are the centre of gravity in this case because they "provide a buffer against the exploitation of social cleavages".<sup>25</sup> Hybrid warfare privileges manipulation of divisions in society, sows internal dispute, and provokes local discord. Any division or dispute among people can be exploited by an adversary. This includes exploiting existing social, political, or economic tensions to amplify divisions and create instability.

Cyberattacks and economic pressure are important parts of hybrid warfare. <sup>26</sup> But disinformation is especially dangerous because it can directly change how people think. It can make people question what is true and what is not, which can make it hard for a society to protect itself from outside threats. This makes it very important to deal with disinformation in any effective strategy for dealing with hybrid warfare. Strategic communication, which aims to influence public opinion and build trust, is particularly effective in this area. <sup>27</sup> However, it is important to recognise that strategic communication is not a magic solution, and it must be used together with other tools.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> IRETON-POSETTI 2018: 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> STEPNEY-LALLY 2024: 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> LIM et al. 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> LIM et al. 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> LIM et al. 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> LEGUCKA 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Allyn 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Lanoszka 2016: 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> NATO 2024a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Klaauw 2019: 62.

#### What is strategic communication?

Strategic communication is a very important tool for dealing with the complicated world of modern conflicts. It's more than just sharing information. It's a planned effort to change the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours of specific groups of people.<sup>28</sup> In a time where there is too much information and we are always connected, strategic communication helps us separate the important information from the useless information and delivers messages that have an effect on the people we want to reach.

Strategic communication is when you share information on purpose to persuade, influence, or inform specific groups of people.<sup>29</sup> But to understand it better, we need to look at its most important parts and rules. It's not just about sharing information; it's about creating and delivering messages that connect with the audience and get the results you want. It involves understanding the audience, creating compelling messages, choosing the right channels, and measuring how well the communication is working. Strategic communication requires careful planning, coordination, and evaluation to ensure that it is achieving its desired goals.

### Key components of strategic communication

Effective strategic communication relies on several key components that work together to achieve the desired impact including audience analysis, message development, channel selection, and evaluation. Audience analysis is "identifying relevant audiences and understanding how they form opinions and make decisions". In other words, understanding the target audience's values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours. This means figuring out what kind of information they need, how they like to receive it, and what biases they might have.

Message development means creating a clear, short, and interesting message that will appeal to the audience you want to reach.<sup>31</sup> The message should be tailored to the audience's values and beliefs, and it should be easy to understand and remember. It's also important to think about the emotional impact of the message and make sure it's ethically sound. The goal is to create a message that is both persuasive and authentic. In other words, the message should reflect the values and beliefs of the communicator while also appealing to the target audience's interests.

Choosing the best ways to talk to the people you want to reach. This could include traditional media, social media, online advertising, or direct communication.<sup>32</sup> The choice of channel should be based on the audience's preferences and the nature of the message. It's also important to think about how reliable and reachable different channels are, because people get their information from many different sources these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> NÉMETH 2021: 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> NÉMETH 2021: 170.

<sup>30</sup> ADAY et al. 2019: 21.

<sup>31</sup> SMITH 2002: 5.

<sup>32</sup> Khanom 2023: 89.

days, it's important to use a variety of communication methods to reach as many people as possible.

Lastly evaluation is "plans for monitoring the program and assessing impact".<sup>33</sup> This could involve tracking media coverage, monitoring social media sentiment, or conducting surveys. The results of the evaluation should be used to improve future communication efforts. Evaluation should be a part of all stages of the strategic communication process. Evaluation is often an afterthought, but it shouldn't be.

### Historical and contemporary examples

Strategic communication has been used effectively (and ineffectively) in many situations throughout history. Looking at these examples can teach valuable lessons for people who use communication to make decisions and for people who make laws. These examples show the power and limitations of strategic communication. They also show how important it is to plan, execute, and evaluate communication strategies.

### Successful examples

The U.S. public diplomacy efforts during the Cold War are a good example. During the Cold War, the U.S. tried to counter Soviet propaganda and promote American values. These efforts included sharing information through different channels, like radio broadcasts, cultural exchange programs, and publications.<sup>34</sup> These efforts made the United States look better to people in other countries. The Voice of America, for example, played a key role in providing accurate and uncensored news to audiences in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. This showed that people liked having a different, trusted source of information instead of only having access to what their government told them.

Public health campaigns to encourage people to get vaccinated have also been successful in reducing the spread of infectious diseases.<sup>35</sup> These campaigns have been shown to increase the number of vaccinations and reduce the number of people who get diseases that can be prevented by vaccines. These campaigns show how important it is to make messages that are right for the people you want to reach. In my opinion, these campaigns show how important it is to build trust and deal with misinformation directly.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> CUTLIP et al. 2006: 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Klaauw 2019: 59.

<sup>35</sup> ABED et al. 2024: 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> ABED et al. 2024: 43-44.

#### Unsuccessful examples

Many people think that the U.S.'s way of communicating before the Iraq War is an example of a communication strategy that didn't work well. "As in the case of Iraq, the U.S.- and NATO-led military operations in Afghanistan failed to gain a strategic communication advantage over the adversary." The strategy was to show that Saddam Hussein's regime was a threat and that it had weapons of mass destruction but it didn't work. Many people around the world didn't think it was okay to go to war. This failure shows that it's important to be honest and transparent when you're sharing information. This shows that it's dangerous to exaggerate threats and not give the public the right information.

#### Key principles of strategic communication

Effective strategic communication is guided by several keys, such as transparency, credibility consistency, and relevance. "Transparency is the deliberate attempt to make available all legally releasable information – whether positive or negative in nature – in a manner that is accurate, timely, balanced, and unequivocal, for the purpose of enhancing the reasoning ability of publics and holding organizations accountable for their actions, policies, and practices."<sup>39</sup>

Transparency builds trust and credibility with the audience. It also allows for greater accountability and public scrutiny. In my opinion, transparency is not just a matter of ethics, but also a strategic imperative. In the long run, it is always better to be honest and upfront with the public.

Credibility is ensuring that the information being communicated is accurate and reliable.<sup>40</sup> Credibility is essential for influencing attitudes and behaviours. This requires careful fact-checking and reliance on trustworthy sources. Credibility is hard-earned and easily lost. It is essential to maintain a commitment to accuracy and honesty in all communication efforts.

Consistency maintains a consistent message across "all communication activities".<sup>41</sup> It reinforces the message and prevents confusion. It also ensures that the message is not undermined by conflicting information. A consistent message, delivered across multiple channels, is far more likely to be heard and remembered than a fragmented and disjointed message.

Finally, relevance tailors the message to the specific "needs" and interests of the target audience.<sup>42</sup> Relevance ensures that the message is heard and understood. This requires a deep understanding of the audience and their values. A relevant message speaks directly to the audience's concerns and offers them something of value.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> TORDA 2023: 86.

<sup>38</sup> RUDD 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> RAWLINS 2009: 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> DELAHAYE PAINE 2007: 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Argenti 2009: 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> CHEN 2023: 142.

By adhering to these principles, strategic communicators can increase the likelihood of achieving their desired outcomes. These principles are particularly important in the context of hybrid warfare, where disinformation and manipulation are used to erode trust and undermine social cohesion. The above principles are the bedrock of effective and ethical strategic communication. Without them, communication efforts are likely to be ineffective or even counterproductive.

# Why strategic communication is suitable to counter hybrid threats?

Hybrid warfare presents a unique set of challenges that require innovative and adaptive countermeasures. Traditional military responses are often insufficient to address the ambiguity, deception, and multifaceted nature of hybrid threats.<sup>43</sup> Strategic communication, with its focus on shaping the information environment and influencing target audiences, offers a powerful and versatile approach to countering these challenges.<sup>44</sup> Strategic communication is not a silver bullet, but it is an essential component of a comprehensive strategy for defending against hybrid warfare.

## Connecting strategic communication to hybrid warfare characteristics

The characteristics of hybrid warfare directly align with the strengths of strategic communication. Hybrid warfare thrives on ambiguity, operating in the grey zone between war and peace to obscure attribution and complicate responses. <sup>45</sup> By shining a light on the grey zone, strategic communication can reduce the effectiveness of hybrid warfare. This involves proactively identifying and exposing disinformation narratives, highlighting the connections between state and non-state actors, and challenging the legitimacy of hostile actions.

The key is to disrupt the adversary's narrative and create a more accurate and transparent picture of the situation. Disinformation and manipulation are a key tool in the hybrid warfare arsenal, used to undermine trust, polarise societies, and sow discord. As Strategic communication can counter disinformation by proactively disseminating accurate information, fact-checking false claims, and building media literacy among target audiences.

By empowering citizens to distinguish between credible and unreliable sources, strategic communication can build resilience to disinformation. This includes training journalists, supporting independent media outlets, and promoting critical thinking skills in schools and communities. In my opinion, media literacy is the most important

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Weissmann 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Klaauw 2019: 61–62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> ADAY et al. 2019: 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> NATO 2024c: 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> ZACKY-ZACKY-EZE 2025: 5-6.

weapon we have against disinformation. By empowering citizens to think critically about the information they consume, we can make them less vulnerable to manipulation.

One of the key advantages of strategic communication is its ability to take a proactive approach to countering hybrid threats. Rather than simply reacting to events as they unfold, strategic communication can be used to shape the information environment in advance, building resilience, deterring aggression, and preparing the public for potential threats. This proactive approach can be far more effective than simply responding to disinformation or other hybrid tactics after they have already taken hold. Proactive strategic communication involves identifying potential vulnerabilities in the information environment, anticipating adversary tactics, and developing strategies to counter them before they can have a significant impact.<sup>48</sup>

### Building resilience to hybrid threats

Strategic communication plays a crucial role in building societal resilience to hybrid threats. By fostering "media literacy", promoting "critical thinking", and building trust in "credible sources" of information, strategic communication can empower citizens to resist manipulation and make informed decisions. <sup>49</sup> This resilience is essential for withstanding the pressures of hybrid warfare and maintaining social cohesion in the face of external threats. Building resilience also involves strengthening social institutions, promoting civic engagement, and addressing underlying social and economic inequalities that can make societies more vulnerable to manipulation.

# Case Study: NATO's Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence (STRATCOM COE)

Recognising the evolving information landscape and the need for enhanced strategic communication capabilities, NATO established the STRATCOM COE in Riga, Latvia. The STRATCOM COE works to improve Allied strategic communications and contributes to NATO's ability to address challenges in the information environment. The STRATCOM COE's efforts involve several key strategies:

 Analysis and lessons learned: The STRATCOM COE has expertise in several areas vital for strategic communications including "strategic foresight, research and development, analysis and assessments, and training and education". This work helps NATO to understand the evolving information environment and to identify emerging threats. The STRATCOM COE makes their work accessible through their publications.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> ADAY et al. 2019: 12–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Karanfiloğlu–Sağlam 2023: 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> NATO 2024b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> NATO 2024b.

- The STRATCOM COE provides training and education to NATO personnel and member state representatives on various aspects of strategic communications.<sup>52</sup> These activities aim to equip personnel with the skills and knowledge needed to navigate the complexities of the information environment and effectively communicate NATO's messages. The STRATCOM COE offers courses and workshops<sup>53</sup> tailored to different audiences and skill levels.
- While it doesn't directly mention "strategic advisory" as a distinct activity, it
  is reasonable to infer that the STRATCOM COE provides advice based on its
  research and analysis. Furthermore, its "assistance in exercises" indicates advisory
  role.<sup>54</sup> So, the STRATCOM COE integrates its expertise into NATO exercises,
  assisting in the planning and execution of strategic communications activities.
- The STRATCOM COE collaborates with various partners, including other NATO Centres of Excellence, academic institutions, and governmental organisations.<sup>55</sup> These collaborations enhance the COE's ability to conduct research, develop training programs, and share best practices in strategic communications. One such example is their aforementioned collaboration with the European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats.<sup>56</sup>
- While it is difficult to measure the precise impact of the STRATCOM COE's
  efforts, its activities undoubtedly contribute to a more robust and coordinated
  response to hybrid threats within the NATO alliance. By serving as a hub for
  research, training, and strategic advisory, the STRATCOM COE is playing a vital
  role in helping NATO and its member states to defend themselves against the
  challenges of hybrid warfare.

#### Conclusion

This paper has explored the critical role of strategic communication in countering the multifaceted challenges posed by hybrid warfare. Hybrid warfare, characterised by its ambiguity, its operation in the grey zone between peace and war, and its reliance on tactics such as disinformation, requires a comprehensive and adaptive approach to defence. Traditional military responses are often insufficient to address these threats, making strategic communication an essential tool for protecting national security and global stability. As the information environment becomes increasingly complex and contested, the ability to effectively communicate and counter disinformation will only become more critical. In my view, strategic communication is not just a tool for governments but also for civil society organisations, the media, and individual citizens.

The paper began by defining hybrid warfare, highlighting its key elements, including the use of both military and non-military means, and emphasising the importance of disinformation as a means of undermining public trust and social cohesion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> NATO 2024b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> NATO 2024b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> NATO 2024b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> NATO 2024b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Anagnostakis 2025: 18.

It examined how hybrid warfare operates within the "grey zone", blurring the lines between peace and war and making attribution difficult. The analysis underscored the insidious nature of disinformation campaigns, which exploit vulnerabilities in the information environment to manipulate public opinion, polarise societies, and erode trust in democratic institutions. Specific examples, such as the "Endless Mayfly" network and the deepfake video of the Ukrainian president, illustrated the diverse and evolving tactics used to spread disinformation in hybrid conflicts. These examples demonstrated the importance of understanding the tactics used by adversaries and developing effective countermeasures.

The paper then turned its attention to strategic communication, defining it as a deliberate and coordinated effort to achieve specific goals by influencing the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours of target audiences. It explored the key components of strategic communication, including audience analysis, message development, channel selection, and evaluation. Historical examples, such as the U.S. public diplomacy efforts during the Cold War and public health campaigns to promote vaccination, demonstrated the potential of strategic communication to shape public perception and achieve desired outcomes. The analysis also highlighted the importance of key principles, such as transparency, credibility, consistency, and relevance, in ensuring the effectiveness of strategic communication efforts. These principles provide a framework for developing ethical and effective communication strategies.

Having established the nature of hybrid warfare and the principles of strategic communication, the paper then argued that strategic communication is uniquely suited to counter the challenges posed by hybrid threats. It emphasised the proactive nature of strategic communication, which allows for shaping the information environment in advance, building resilience, deterring aggression, and preparing the public for potential threats. The case study of NATO's STRATCOM COE demonstrated how a dedicated international organisation can contribute to a more coordinated and effective response to hybrid threats by building alliance capabilities.

This paper has demonstrated that strategic communication is a critical tool for mitigating the impact of hybrid warfare. By proactively shaping the information environment, building societal resilience, and exposing the tactics of adversaries, nations can defend themselves against the threats posed by hybrid conflicts. In an era of increasing interconnectedness and information overload, the ability to effectively communicate and counter disinformation is essential for maintaining public trust, preserving social cohesion, and protecting democratic values. Strategic communication should be viewed as a core component of national security strategy, alongside traditional military and diplomatic tools.

By embracing strategic communication as a core component of national security strategy, nations can better defend themselves against the challenges of hybrid warfare and promote a more stable and secure world. The future of conflict will be shaped by the ability to effectively communicate and counter disinformation, making strategic communication an essential tool for protecting national interests and promoting global stability. In closing, I believe that strategic communication is not just a tool for winning wars; it is a tool for building peace and promoting a more just and equitable world.

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